

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5542

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0755

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJECT: FLAWED SHOW OF PRC LEADERSHIP UNITY

1. ON APRIL 26, THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY POLITBURO LED BY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF PEKING'S WORKERS MILITIA, POLICE, AND PLA GUARDS TO CONGRATULATE THEM ON THEIR HANDLING OF THE APRIL 5 TIEN AN MEN SQUARE INCIDENT. ALL FOUR REGIME "RADICALS" WANG HUNG-WEN, CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, CHIANG CHING, AND YAO WEN-YUAN TURNED OUT FOR THE OCCASION, WHILE THE REMAINING TOP THREE "MODERATE" LEADERS YEH CHIEN-YING, CHU TEN, AND LI HSIEN-NIEN WERE ABSENT. ALL OF THE REST OF POLITBURO, WHO ARE PHYSICALLY ABLE AND RESIDENT IN PEKING, INCLUDING

MILITARY MAN CHEN HSI-LIEN, ATTENDED THE MEETING. THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF THE POLITBURO MEMBERS REMAINED AS BEFORE EXCEPT FOR THE ELEVATION OF HUA, BUT IN THE PAGE-WIDTH PHOTOGRAPH OF THE LEADERS APPEARING ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE APRIL 27 PEOPLE'S DAILY, CHIANG CHING (MADAME MAO) IS INEXPLICABLY STANDING ON HUA'S LEFT WHICH WOULD PLACE HER IN PROTOCOL TERMS JUST BELOW WANG HUNG-WEN

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AND ABOVE CHANG CHUN CHIAO. IN THE NAME LIST, THE RADICALS THUS

OCCUPY THE FOUR PLACES JUST BELOW HUA AND IN THE PHOTOGRAPH THEY NEATLY FLANK HIM ON BOTH SIDES. IT IS AS MUCH THEIR EVENT AS IT IS HUA'S.

2. COMMENT: WE WOULD INTERPRET THIS MEETING AS AN ATTEMPT TO DISPLAY REGIME UNITY ON THE ELEVATION OF HUA AND THE SACKING OF TENG HSIAO-PING. MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED TO PARADE IN THE MAJOR CITIES OF CHINA AND RANKING PROVINCIAL LEADERS HAVE MADE SPEECHES TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SUPPORT, BUT THERE HAS BEEN A CONSPICUOUS LACK OF SIMILAR SHOW OF SUPPORT BY THE TOP PRC LEADERS. THIS MEETING MAY WELL HAVE BEEN PLANNED FOR SOME TIME AND THEN DELAYED WHILE AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO INDUCE THE MODERATE SUPPORTERS OF TENG TO JOIN IN. IF SO, THE EFFORT FAILED. THE SHOW OF UNITY WAS BADLY FLAWED BY THEIR ABSENCE.

3. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF THE LINEUP AT THE APRIL 26 MEETING INDEED REFLECTS THE NEW POWER STRUCTURE OF THE PRC. BUT TAKEN AT FACE VALUE, THE LIST OF LEADERS ATTENDING THE MEETING, AND THE PEOPLE'S DAILY PHOTOGRAPH EVEN MORE SO, APPEAR TO SYMBOLIZE A DRAMATIC RISE IN THE POSITION OF THE RADICALS.
THAYER

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